

## The Music of Leipzig's Royal Catholic Chapel during the Reign of August II\*

JANICE B. STOCKIGT

Although theologians and historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries published information about the foundation in 1710 of a royal Catholic chapel in Leipzig,<sup>1</sup> the musical life of this church (which surely was known to Johann Sebastian Bach) has largely escaped scholarly attention in recent times. Established two years after the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, August II (August 'der Starke'), dedicated a Catholic church within his Dresden palace in 1708,<sup>2</sup> both the Leipzig and Dresden churches came to be administered by the Jesuit Province of Bohemia. These foundations took place at a time when August II had to satisfy the Supreme Pontiff that his 1697 conversion from Lutheranism to Catholicism had not been for pragmatic reasons, as only a Catholic could be elected king of Poland. While making no move to enforce the canon established at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 – *Cuius regio, eius religio* (the state will adopt the religion of the ruler) – in 1708 August II signed a set of *Ordinationes* designed to

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<sup>1</sup> Augustin Theiner, *Geschichte der Zurückkehr der regierenden Häuser von Braunschweig und Sachsen in den Schloss der Katholischen Kirche im achtzehnten Jahrhundert, und der Wiederherstellung der Katholischen Religion in diesen Staaten* (Einsiedeln: Karl & Nikolaus Benzinger, 1843); Bernhard Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge im 18. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols. in 6 parts (Munich and Regensburg: Herder, 1907–1928); Paul Franz Saft, *Der Neuaufbau der katholischen Kirche in Sachsen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Studien zur Katholischen Bistums- und Klostersgeschichte 2 (Leipzig: St Benno-Verlag, 1961). Information on this chapel has been published by the present author, Janice B. Stockigt, as 'Die "Annuae Literae" der Leipziger Jesuiten 1719–1740: Ein Bach-Dokument?', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 78 (1992), 77–80, and 'The Annuae Literae of the Leipzig Jesuits, 1719–1740', in Petronilla Cemus and Richard Cemus SJ (eds.), *Bohemia Jesuitica 1556–2006* (Prague: Nakladatelství Karolinum, 2010), vol. 2, 1105–12.

<sup>2</sup> The original Catholic court church in Dresden, dedicated in 1708, was housed in the renovated theatre of the Dresden palace. The later building (known as the Hofkirche) which replaced the original church was dedicated in 1751. Today, this is the Cathedral of the Diocese of Dresden-Meißen.

regulate the practice of Catholicism in Saxony.<sup>3</sup> These decrees, which were based upon a document entitled *Memoires* drafted by the king's confessor Father Carl Moritz Vota SJ,<sup>4</sup> were also calculated to protect the religious sensitivities of the king's Lutheran and Catholic subjects, as well as those of the many Catholics who visited his Dresden court and Leipzig, the commercial heart of Saxony.

Initially, Leipzig's Catholic chapel was relatively modest in both size and presence. It was open to Catholic visitors to Leipzig's famed fairs, and to the many Italian merchants who traded there. The chapel continued to serve Catholics in Leipzig until 1841, when it was closed as the building became structurally dangerous.<sup>5</sup> At the time of establishment, Leipzig had its own small Catholic population, a group that must have felt somewhat alienated in such a strongly Lutheran environment. An example of Catholic sensibility was reported to Rome in the *Litterae Annuae* for 1715: a lieutenant colonel of noble origin instructed his wife to give a bonus to the Leipzig undertakers to ensure that his grave would be dug deep, in the hope that he would rest among the Catholics once buried in that place – that is, in pre-Reformation soil.<sup>6</sup>

The circumstances surrounding the establishment of Leipzig's Catholic chapel were set out in a letter written to Pope Clemens XI in 1710 by Father Vota, who reported that the king has assigned 1,200 scudi (*Thaler*) per year for two missionaries and for ornamentation of the church on which he had spent a considerable sum of money. Father Vota pointed out that although Leipzig was home to fewer than ten Catholic families, Catholics from outside Leipzig arrived in thousands for the annual fairs, filling the chapel with a great crowd.<sup>7</sup>

At first this chapel was staffed by Father Heinrich Eggert SJ from the Province of the Upper Rhine. In 1711 he was joined by a priest from Dresden, Father Johannes Hartmann SJ who was Superior of the Jesuits of Dresden's Catholic court church from 22 June 1721 until his death on 12 August 1727. By 1719 the two Jesuits serving in Leipzig and Dresden came from the Province of Bohemia which had become responsible for the administration of these Saxon royal chapels.

The small Leipzig chapel was located in the basement of the tower of the Pleißenburg fortress and, like the Catholic court church within the Dresden palace, it was established within property belonging to August II. Both were open for public worship. In Leipzig this caused the commander of this castle-cum-

<sup>3</sup> Twenty 'Ordinationes Regis pro Eccl[esi]a et Capella Regali: Catholicis aperta' are kept in the 'Historia Missionis Societatis Jesu Dresdae in Saxonia ab Anno Salutis 1709', Alet. E Gruppe VIII No. 86, loc. 3718<sup>d</sup>, Diözesanarchiv des Bistums Dresden-Meißen (hereafter DADM), Zentralabteilung Archiv-Bibliothek-Kunst, Bischöfliches Ordinariat, Diözese Dresden-Meißen, Bautzen (hereafter D-BAUd.) They are translated and published in German by Theiner in *Geschichte der Zurückkehr der regierenden Häuser von Braunschweig und Sachsen*, 137–41.

<sup>4</sup> *Chiesa e Capella reale di Dresda: 'Memoires [sic] Pour L'eglise ou Chappelle Royale.'* The incomplete draft is kept among documents from, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu Fondo Vecchia Compagnia, Rome (ARSI), Provinciae Bohemiae (Boh.) 205/2.

<sup>5</sup> Saft, *Der Neuaufbau der katholischen Kirche in Sachsen*, 136.

<sup>6</sup> Reported in the 'Annuae Litterae Domus Professae S.J. Micro-Pragae ad annum Domini 1715<sup>um</sup>: Missio Dresdensis', ARSI, Boh. 128, 22.

<sup>7</sup> This letter is reproduced in its entirety by Theiner in *Geschichte der Zurückkehr der regierenden Häuser von Braunschweig und Sachsen*, 145–7.

fortress, Colonel Hopfgarten, to express grave concerns to the king because the Pleißenburg fortress also housed an arsenal with large quantities of gunpowder. The colonel's apprehensions were heightened on the Sunday preceding the solemn opening service on Whitsun, 8 June 1710, when more than 300 people—a crowd Hopfgarten feared could include undesirable elements—gathered at the Pleißenburg gate wanting to enter the church which, the commander claimed, could hold not many more than 30 people.<sup>8</sup>

Lutheran citizens and students were frequent visitors to Leipzig's Catholic chapel, especially to see the sepulchre built each Holy Week and the Christmas crib erected during Advent. The feast that drew wide attention, however, was Corpus Christi. The procession took place within the church because Catholic processions in the open air were forbidden by August II.

The year 1719 represented a turning point for Catholics throughout Saxony. On 2 September the son and heir of August II, the newly-wed Saxon Electoral Prince, Friedrich August II (1697–1763),<sup>9</sup> returned to Saxony with a Habsburg bride, the particularly devout Archduchess Maria Josepha of Austria (1699–1757) who was to become a powerful patron taking a keen interest in the music of the Dresden court church. At that time visitors had come to Dresden from all over Europe to witness a series of brilliant spectacles devised by August II to celebrate this union. One such visitor was the nephew of the well-known Bohemian music patron Count Franz Anton Sporck (1662–1738), the recently-ordained Illustrious and Very Reverend Count Johann Rudolph von Sporck (1694–1759) who, after visiting the Dresden Superior on 15 September 1719,<sup>10</sup> travelled on to the Leipzig chapel which then was served by the Bohemian Fathers Antonius Fock SJ and Leopoldus Mlady SJ. Count Johann Rudolph von Sporck, who rose to become an auxiliary bishop and capitulary at Prague's Metropolitan Cathedral of St Vitus, remained as a guest of the Leipzig Jesuits between 1 and 8 October during which time he celebrated Mass on three occasions.<sup>11</sup> (Visiting prelates from different orders frequently celebrated Mass in Leipzig's royal chapel.<sup>12</sup>)

The daily journal of the Leipzig Jesuits (the Leipzig *Diarium Missionis*) is incomplete, with entries surviving only from 3 June 1719 to 1726.<sup>13</sup> There is

<sup>8</sup> These events are recounted by Saft, *Der Neuaufbau der katholischen Kirche in Sachsen*, 132–4.

<sup>9</sup> In 1733 Electoral Prince Friedrich August II succeeded his father August II (d. 1 February 1733) as Elector of Saxony, and on 5 October 1733 he was elected King of Poland, thereby becoming August III.

<sup>10</sup> Dresden 'Diarium Missionis', 16 September 1719: 'Post meridiem visitavit me ... Comes Rudolphus de Sporck.' Excerpts from the Dresden 'Diarium Missionis' published by Wolfgang Reich in *Zelenka– Studien II: Referate und Materialien der 2. Internationalen Fachkonferenz Jan Dismas Zelenka: Dresden und Prag 1995* (Sankt Augustin, 1997), 315–75.

<sup>11</sup> Leipzig 'Diarium Missionis' entries between 1 and 9 October 1719. On 9 October it was reported that Count von Sporck ('Herr Graf von Spurk') had left Leipzig the previous day.

<sup>12</sup> For example, Father Marcus, a Franciscan priest, is often reported as celebrating Mass in the Leipzig Catholic chapel during these years.

<sup>13</sup> 'Diarium Missionis Lipsiensis Autoritate Sacrae Regiae Majestatis Augusti II Poloniarum Regis et Electoris Saxoniae PP: Erectae primum Anno 1710 Die 3 Junii in arce Pleissenburg: nunc Ab anno 1719. Die 3 Junii consenti [?] ceptum ab Existentibus p[leno] t[itulo] RR: GG: Missionariis et Cappellanis Regiis R.P. Antonio Fock ò R.P. Leopoldo Mlady.' No call number assigned. DADM, D-BAUd. In his introduction to the Leipzig 'Diarium Missionis' Father Fock noted that the original priest of the Leipzig Catholic chapel, Father Eggert, had not kept a diary.

additionally an undated German typescript translation from the original Latin entries of the Leipzig *Diarium Missionis* (the *Tagebuch*) from 3 June 1719 until October 1722.<sup>14</sup> Although these journals mainly document the organisation of church services, they also record the sacraments given, any difficulties that occurred, and details of the many visitors to whom hospitality was offered in both the Leipzig Jesuit house and in Zimmermann's well-known establishment. A series of annual expenses incurred between 1710 and 1745 originally written in German (the *Rechnung*) and from 1719 in Latin (the *Rationes*) survive, and are now held in the Zentralabteilung Archiv-Bibliothek-Kunst, Bischöfliches Ordinariat, Bautzen.<sup>15</sup> When these sources are combined with the more general overview portrayed in letters sent to Rome each year, a more rounded picture of the Leipzig mission emerges. Leipzig's royal chapel assumed special importance following the return to Dresden of the Saxon electoral prince; it would have been anticipated that he and Maria Josepha would worship there whenever they and their courts visited Leipzig for the trade fairs. Their earliest recorded visits took place in 1722, when a brief entry in the Leipzig *Diarium Missionis* dated 28 April reported the presence of the prince, followed by a similarly brief entry on 29 April of the visit from Maria Josepha with her confessor, Father Antonius Steyerer, and the confessor of the prince, Father Joseph Gall.

*Rechnung* entries demonstrate that as early as 1713 the Leipzig Jesuit chapel had begun to make payments to those who sang at the Holy Sepulchre during Holy Week,<sup>16</sup> and for Jesuit recreations held during the Christmas octave (from Christmas Day, 25 December to 1 January).<sup>17</sup> In March 1715, 1000 copies of a hymnal were printed in Leipzig by Christoph Zunkel of which of 261 were distributed,<sup>18</sup> while on 16 June 1717 a *Rechnung* entry recorded that 4 *Thaler* had been paid for singers who served in the church.<sup>19</sup> Another entry in the *Rechnung*

<sup>14</sup> 'Tagebuch', undated typescript German translation of the Leipzig 'Diarium Missionis', C.I.119, 02100 Bd. 1, 1-33, DADM, D-BAUd (hereafter 'Tagebuch'.) The anonymous translator claims to have noted incorrect dates given in the Leipzig 'Diarium Missionis'. 'Tagebuch', 10, note 9 under the entry for 8 January 1720.

<sup>15</sup> 'Rationes', I. 004, Band 142 (previous signature 12/3 Band I), Kath. Gemeinde St. Trinitatis Leipzig (Propstei), Kirchenrechnung 1710-1745, DADM, D-BAUd. Hereafter 'Rationes' and 'Rechnung'. Accounts in both Latin and German exist for 1719: 'Rationes Acceptae Anno. 1719 á 26. Aprilis usque ad Decembrem Ejusdem Anni', and 'Rechnung desjenigen, was wegen der Catholischen Capellen in Leipzig Empfangen und Ausgegeben im Jahr 1719.'

<sup>16</sup> 'Rechnung', 19 April 1713: 'denen, die durch die Caarwoch und Ostern, am Grab und im Singen geholffen haben, zur recreation.'; 'Rechnung', 11 April 1714: 'denen die im Singen und das Grab aufzurichten, geholffen zu einer recreation.'; 'Rechnung', 24 November 1715: 'für eine kleine recreation so man denen zuberreitet welche durch die H. woche und Ostern mit singen und zurüstung des Grabs geholffen.'

<sup>17</sup> 'Rechnung', 27 December 1714: 'denen die im Singen geholffen, zur kleinen recreation.'; 'Rechnung', 27 December 1715: 'zu einer kleines recreation, denen die in singen geholffen.'

<sup>18</sup> 'Rechnung', 13 March 1715: 'ist verfertiget worden ein Catholisches Gesangbuch, von 11 ½ bogen in 1000 Exemplar, gedruckt allhier in Leipzig bey Christoff Zunkel [sic], wo von sehen Lit. B. Hatte gekostet 36. thlr. 16. gr. Das stück kommt ohngefähr ad 1 f. Am Ende dieses Jahrs waren distrabiret 261 exemplar. Worfur der Kirchen restituiert worden 10. thl. 21. gr. Hat also die Kirch noch ausgelegt für die übrige 739 stück und müßen ihr mit verkauffung derselben restituiret warden.'

<sup>19</sup> 'Rechnung', 16 June 1717: 'so denen welche der Kirchen in vorsingen und andere sache gedienet.'

for 1718 shows that the chapel had acquired a copy of Giacomo Carissimi's *Ars cantandi*, a detailed method for teaching the art of singing to the young.<sup>20</sup>

Musical expenses increased during 1719. A hymn book with musical notation ('cum notis musicis in altis') was purchased,<sup>21</sup> and a young discantist was taken on for thirteen weeks until Michaelmas.<sup>22</sup> In that year an elementary school was opened by the Leipzig Jesuits, and a clavichord together with a tuning hammer and small red table were purchased.<sup>23</sup> Also in 1719, the chapel made plans to acquire an organ. A small instrument was to be erected by a builder from Annaberg in the Erzgebirge mountains close to the Saxon border with Bohemia. The contract, in which the *Disposition* of the original instrument is specified, is found on a loose sheet inserted before the *Rechnung* of 1719. Signed by Leipzig's Superior Father Fock SJ, and by builders Christoph Hennig and Christian Grimmer, the document reads:

	<i>Disposition</i> Eines orgel werkhs	Organ Specification	
1)	<i>Principal</i> von Reinen Berg Ziehn in Spiegl	Principal of pure mined, polished tin	4 foot
2)	Grob gedackt von Holtz	Large [large-scale] Gedackt of wood	8 foot
3)	Klein gedackt von Holtz odter ein 4 fussig offen flöth Werckh	Small [small-scale] Gedackt of wood or a 4 foot open flute stop	
4)	<i>Quint</i> offene Nasset von <i>metal</i>	Quint open Nassat [Nazard] of metal	3 foot
5)	<i>octav</i> von <i>metal</i>	Octave of metal	2 foot
6)	<i>Mixtur</i> 2 fach Scharff alß e g c	Mixture [II] 2 ranks in the sharp [upper] register consisting of e g c [3 ranks]	1 foot
	Ein Clavier zwey Palge, eine Windlathe undt zwar auf <i>Manual</i> undt <i>Pedal</i> , vor dann dreÿ Rundte thürmen, d[a]ß gehauß von guthen dauerhafsten Holtz undt guther tischler Arbeith wie auch ein <i>Pedal</i> Clavier	A console with a manual and pedal keyboard, each with two bellows, and one wind chest, and in front of that, three round towers, the case as well as the pedal board to be of good, well-seasoned timber and good cabinet work	

<sup>20</sup> 'Rationes', 10 June 1718: 'Ars cantandi Charissimi' is entered under 'Bücher zur Bibliothec.' It is possible that Leipzig's St Thomas School choral library also held *Ars cantandi* as Carissimi is named among the composers of the school's old printed and manuscript collection. See Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000), 332.

<sup>21</sup> 'Rechnung', 1719: 'Hymni Spirituales cum notis musicis in altis.' This might mean that the melodic line was notated.

<sup>22</sup> 'Rationes', 1719: 'In victum Juvenis Discantistae, qui accipitur ad S. Michaellem, per 13. Septimanas. à 18. gr.'

<sup>23</sup> 'Rechnung', 1719: 'Ein Clavichordium mit stimmhammer und rothen Tischlein ... 2. th[a]l[e]r. 12. gr[oschen]'. This sum is very similar to the cost of a spinet given as '3. rtl' by Wolff in *Johann Sebastian Bach*, Appendix 3: 'Money and Living Costs in Bach's Time', 541.

Für das gantze werck 61 <sup>thlr.</sup> ist auff beyden theilen accordirt worden u. damit es auff die <i>Michäel</i> maß verfertig seÿn. Leipsig 20. Julÿ 1719.	For the entire work 61 <i>Thaler</i> has been allocated for both parts [manual and pedal divisions] and it shall be completed by Michaelmas. Leipzig, 20 July 1719. <sup>24</sup>
Johann Christoph Hennig O[rgel] M[acher]	Johann Christoph Hennig Organ builder
Christian Grimmer	Christian Grimmer
Antonius Fock P[leno] t[itulo] Capellanus Regius	Antonius Fock Full title: Royal Chaplain

On the reverse of this leaf are dated records of payments totalling 59 *Thaler* signed by both Hennig and Grimmer, while ‘Contractus et Quietantia pro organo facto | Anno 1719. 20 Junii. | N° 1’ (contract and receipt for organ ...) is written lower left. Although the plan was to complete the instrument by Michaelmas (29 September), construction did not begin until 4 December 1719.<sup>25</sup> The instrument, as reported in the annual letter to Rome for 1719, would assist both the church musicians and the congregation—a reminder that Saxon Catholic congregations participated in the singing of hymns.<sup>26</sup>

Furthermore, to avoid confusion in the singing of the congregation and to create greater harmony among the musicians during services an organ was commissioned by the mission at the cost of 120 Imperials. It was installed in the royal chapel on 6 December and soon will achieve a perfect sound.<sup>27</sup>

During the early years of Dresden’s Catholic court church, *Diarium Missionis* entries reveal that hymns were sung in the vernacular, especially during Advent and Holy Week,<sup>28</sup> while on Palm Sunday the Passion was sung in German until

<sup>24</sup> For expert technical advice about this ‘Disposition’ I am indebted to many people, especially to Ian Burk, Robert Hugo, Barbara M. Reul, and John Scott Whiteley.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Tagebuch’, 4 December 1719, 8.

<sup>26</sup> A *nota bene* in the ‘Rechnung’, 1718, refers to the printing of a hymnal in 1715: ‘Wegen des Anno 1715 gedruckten Gesang-Buchs müssen der Capellen noch restitiret werden 15. thlr. 20. gr. dafor bleiben noch über 400. exemplar deselben buchs das stück zu 1. gr. machet mehr als 16. thlr.’

<sup>27</sup> ‘Porro ad evitandas in populi cantu confusiones, et divinorum tempore ad conciliandam musicorum harmoniam, Organum fieri fecit missio, 120. imperialium expensis, quod die 6. Decembris in Capella Regia poni coeptum, brevi in auribus resonabit perfectum.’ ‘Annuae Domûs Professo Societatis Iesu Micro-Pragae ad annum 1719: Annuae Missionis Lipsiensis’, ARSI, Boh. 133, 12.

<sup>28</sup> For example, on 27 November 1712 (First Sunday in Advent), the Dresden ‘*Diarium Missionis*’ reported that for the first Rorate Mass the musicians sang Advent hymns in the vernacular (‘Primum sacrum Rorate, sub quo musici cantaverunt cantiones adventuales vernaculas.’) The Dresden ‘*Diarium Missionis*’ recorded that the hymn *O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig* was sung during Lent (7 March 1710; 16 February 1725; 18 February 1725; 14 April 1726; 17 February 1736.) Reports of the hymn *Christ ist erstanden* being sung at the Resurrection ceremonies in 1710 and 1719 are given, while on Resurrection Sunday 1729, the Dresden ‘*Diarium Missionis*’ recorded that *Freut Euch ihr lieben Seelen* was to be sung following the Benediction. (‘NB. [...] et post benedictionem cantetur Freut Euch ihr lieben Seelen.’)

at least 1722.<sup>29</sup> A letter dated 14 January 1712 from the Dresden Superior Father Georgius Klein SJ to Father Vota, who was then living in Rome, reported: 'Your church has been embellished with a new organ which plays excellently and which contributes greatly to the quality of the congregation's singing in the vernacular.'<sup>30</sup>

Despite the claim that the organ of Leipzig's royal chapel would soon achieve a perfect sound, financial records reveal that the instrument and its installation presented major problems, as this entry from the *Rationes* of 1719 shows:

In July this year an organ was decided upon at the price of 75 *Thaler*, to be divided between two (men): a master craftsman [Johann Christoph Hennig] and his assistant [Christian Grimmer]. On account of a disagreement about the space where they worked, which arose between them for some reason, the [master] left before the job had been finished. The other, who had received half the money, had sworn that he would finish the work but either he was unable to do so or, even when begged, was unwilling to do so. As almost all the money has been taken, the chapel suffered a loss.<sup>31</sup>

A note at the conclusion of the 1719 *Rationes* states that the chapel suffered a deficit of 73 *Thaler*, 16 *Groschen* because the organ had been dismantled ('*Damnum Capella ex organo destructo.*')<sup>32</sup> On 20 March 1720, however, the organ builder from Annaberg (presumably Christoph Hennig) again visited the Leipzig Jesuit house,<sup>33</sup> and on 10 June work recommenced on the instrument which had been delivered the previous Friday. The builder worked with two journeymen (*Gesellen*) and his meals were provided in the Jesuit house.<sup>34</sup> An account in the *Rationes* for 1720 reveals the costs associated with this work.

[1720] This year on 7 June an organ builder from Annaberg came with two assistants. He worked with them for four weeks on erecting the organ. The organ-maker ate with us for the same price as we pay, that is, 1 *Thaler*, 12 *Groschen*, without drinks.

<sup>29</sup> The first report of the Passion being sung in Latin is given in the Dresden 'Diarium Missionis' on 14 April 1725. In the catalogue of the music collection of the Dresden Hofkirche (1765) the following entry is given in the section titled 'Musica senza nome dell'Autore': 'Cantus Ecclesiasticus. Passionis D. N. J. C. Per le 2 Passioni, Secundum Matth. et Joan.' Catalogo della Musica di Chiesa composta Da diversi Autori—secondo l'Alfabetto 1765. D-B, Mus. ms. Theor. Kat. 186.

<sup>30</sup> 'Ecclesia Paternitatis Ves[tra]e exornata est novo organo, notabiliter sonante et Populum in cantibus vernaculis ad omnem gratiam adjuvante.' ARSI, Epp NN 101, 148.

<sup>31</sup> 'Hoc anno constitutum organum mense Julio pretio 75. thlr. apud duos, quorum unus Magister in arte, alter ei adjunctus propter domum, in qua laboraverunt, inter hos discordia orta undecumque demum, primarius re incepta fugit, alter quia dimidium de pretio jam acceperat, appromiserat se perfecturum opus at vel non potuit vel imploratus noluit. Pretio fermè toto accepto Capella damnum habuit.' 'Rationes', 1719.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> 'Tagebuch', 20 March 1720, 12: 'Mittwoch ... Zu Tisch der Herr Orgelbauer aus Annaberg ...'

<sup>34</sup> 'Tagebuch', 10 June 1720, 15: 'Montag ... Heute beginnt der Annaberger Orgelbauer die Orgel aufzustellen, die am vergangenen Freitag angeliefert wurde. Er arbeitete mit zwei Gesellen und war bei uns in Kost.'

For the organ-maker's food over four weeks	6 Thaler
For the two assistants' food	8 Thaler
For beer with meals and outside meal time	5 Thaler, 16 Gr.
Wine for the organ-maker, at 6 Groschen bottle each day	7 Thaler
Accommodation three people at 3 Groschen a day	3 Thaler, 12 Gr.
To the carrier for transporting the organ from Annaberg	16 Thaler, 16 Gr.
Two rolls of leather, and tools for the bellows	1 Thaler, 23 Gr.
For the organ-maker for the contracted work	90 Thaler
A gratuity for the organ-maker	5 Thaler
A gratuity for his two assistants	6 Thaler
	[Total]... 159 Thaler, 19 Groschen. <sup>35</sup>

Work was finished by Monday 1 July 1720, and on Tuesday 2 July, Feast of the Visitation BVM, the instrument was played for the first time at the 8.00 am High Mass.<sup>36</sup> In 1723, however, at the cost of 12 Thaler, an organ builder from Leipzig was required to repair and tune the instrument which had repeatedly malfunctioned during the winter.<sup>37</sup> From then on the instrument was tuned approximately every three years.<sup>38</sup> In 1723 regular payments began to be made to the organ blowers (*calcanti*), and in that year three *calcanti* received a total of 12 Thaler between them.<sup>39</sup>

In April 1738, when the Saxon ruling family visited Leipzig—an event for which Bach wrote the now-missing homage serenade for August III and Maria Josepha (*Willkommen! Ihr herrschenden Götter der Erden*, BWV Anhang 13)—the Jesuits requested extensions to be made to the chapel. These must have been agreed because the annual letter from Leipzig to Rome reported that both the chapel and its windows were to be enlarged, and the royal court artist, Louis Sylvestre, would prepare paintings for the three altars. New equipment was to

<sup>35</sup> 'Hoc anno Mense Junio 7ma die advenit Organifex Annaberga cum duobus sociis: cum eis laboravit, et erexit Organum spatio quatuor hebdomadarum. Organifex nobiscum eodem pretio mensam habuit, quò nos, nimirum 1. thlr. 12. gr. sinè haustu.

In victum 4. Hebdomadam pro Organifice	6. [thlr.]
In eundem pro 2. Sociis	8. [thlr.]
In Cervisiam intra et extra mensam	5. [thlr.] 16. [gr.]
In vinum pro Organifice quavis dei 1. Boutel à 6. gl.	7. [thlr.]
In habitationem pro tribus per diem 3. gl.	3. [thlr.] 12. [gr.]
Aurigae pro vectura organi ex Annaberg	16. [thlr.] 16. [gr.]
In duobus rotulis lori, et ferramentis ad folles	1. [thlr.] 23. [gr.]
Organifici pro labore contracto	90. [thlr.]
Eodem in gratiale	15. [thlr.]
Duobus Sociis gratiale	6. [thlr.]

Summa Organi 159. Thaler. 19. Groschen.' From 'Rationes', 1720.

<sup>36</sup> 'Tagebuch', 1 May 1720, 15: '1. Montag. Das Übliche. Die Orgel ist fertiggestellt.' And Bd. 1, 15, 2 July 1720: 'Fest Mariä Heimsuchung. Um 8.00 Uhr Hochamt mit Orgel; die heute erstmalig gespielt wurde.'

<sup>37</sup> 'Rationes', 1723: 'Organifici Lipsiensi pro reparato et concordato Organo, quod hyemis tempore continuò haerebat.'

<sup>38</sup> 'Rationes', 1727: 'Organifici pro concordato Organo 1727' (3 Thaler, 12 Groschen); 'Rationes', 1730: 'In Organi concordationem reparationem pugationem à pulcibus' (6 Thaler); 'Rationes', 1733: 'Pro Organo concordando' (1 Thaler, 8 Groschen.)

<sup>39</sup> 'Rationes', 1723: 'Calcanti singuliter a 4 thl.'



include a pulpit, a font, four confession boxes, and pews. Behind the altars two large sacristies would be built. The only reference to the organ in this annual letter is found in a rather vague passage which suggests that a choir had been erected where the organ was to be placed, and new stalls had been acquired: 'Chorus cum organo erectus comparata scamma nova ...'<sup>40</sup> However, the 1738 financial accounts of the chapel record that on an unknown date in that year the sum of 1 *Thaler*, 18 *Groschen* was paid to an organmaker, his associate, and his son. Perhaps this indicates that planning was underway for work to be undertaken on the organ of this chapel.<sup>41</sup>

Between 1719 and 1733 a succession of young organists from Bohemian villages close to the border with Thuringia served in Leipzig's Catholic court chapel. They were Augustin Uhlig (1719–22) from Sonnenberg (Výsluní); Johannes Gruß (1722–24) also from Sonnenberg; Josef Tiederle (1724–25) whose place of origin is unknown; Johannes Petrus Greisel (1726–31) perhaps from Nixdorf (Mikulášovice);<sup>42</sup> and Antonio Harnisch (1731–35) from Graupen (Krupka). Later organists were Emanuel Harnisch (1735–37), also from Graupen, and the long-serving Josef Reinaldi (1737–65+) from Leipzig.<sup>43</sup> Initially, the organists also carried out the duties of sacristan. They lived in the Jesuit house (which was rented accommodation) where their food and clothing was provided. Occasional medical costs were met by the Jesuits. Extra money was sometimes earned for helping out in the chapel, and it is known that at least two organists, Johannes Gruß and Antonio Harnisch, taught in the elementary school founded in 1719 by the Leipzig Jesuits. Annual leave of one month was given, during which time Lutheran organists sometimes took their place.

The subsequent careers of at least three of the Bohemian musicians demonstrate that Leipzig's Catholic chapel was a stepping-stone to greater things. In 1722 Augustin Uhlig moved to Dresden, where he became the organist to the music ensemble (known as the *Juvenes* or *Kapellknaben*) of the Catholic court church. Late in 1725 Josef Tiederle also moved to Dresden to become the violinist of the same ensemble. Both Uhlig and Tiederle were formally admitted as members of Dresden's renowned Hofkapelle as violinists in 1732, and each eventually held the important position of Hofkapelle instrument inspector. In 1735 Antonio Harnisch also moved to Dresden, first as a teacher of the *Kapellknaben* of the Catholic court church,<sup>44</sup> then as organist of the newly-established Catholic church in the town's military barracks. He also taught music to the Catholic orphans housed there.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> 'Annuae Literae Missionis Lipsiensis ad Annum 1738', ARSI, Boh. 157, 61. See Stockigt, 'Die "Annuae Literae" der Leipziger Jesuiten 1719–1740', 77.

<sup>41</sup> 'Rationes', 1738: 'In organificem cum Socio et filio.'

<sup>42</sup> The town of Nixdorf is suggested because the 'Rationes', 1726 notes that a small sum of money was given to Greisel's young travelling companion from Nixdorf.

<sup>43</sup> The contributions of each organist to Leipzig's royal Catholic chapel up until the Seven Years War (1756–63), as well as information on their subsequent careers, are given in a paper now in preparation.

<sup>44</sup> 'Rationes', 1735: 'Antonio Harnisch abeun,ti Dresdam ad servitia Ludi Magistri pro gratiali.'

<sup>45</sup> 'Annuae Missionis Legationis Capellae in Nova Civitate ad Dresdam ad A: 1740', ARSI, Boh. 160, 49–50. However, 'Ant. Harnisch' continued to be listed in the *HStCal* with the *Capellknaben* under the title *Königliche Capellen* as the 'Teutcher Schulmeister.'

On 1 February 1733 August II died in Poland. Funeral rites were held in Dresden and in Leipzig between 15 and 17 April.<sup>46</sup> A mausoleum was constructed in Leipzig's royal chapel, which was guarded by members of the local militia.<sup>47</sup> The organist Antonio Harnisch must have been responsible for direction of the music because in addition to his annual salary he was given an extra 4 *Thaler*. Six military musicians were paid 16 *Thaler*,<sup>48</sup> and three musicians were brought in from Bohemia.<sup>49</sup> A brief account in the annual letter to Rome reported on the exequies, noting that the chapel proved too small to hold the crowd wishing to attend.<sup>50</sup>

In these early years of Leipzig's royal Catholic chapel, musical matters that are noted in annual letters to Rome include an account of the reprimand the Jesuits received due to use of the organ in the chapel during the mourning period for Electress Christine Eberhardine in 1727 when organs were to be silenced throughout Saxony.<sup>51</sup> There also is mention of an un-named virtuoso organist whose playing on 30 September 1736 'delighted royal ears with sweet sounding pieces in the royal chapel'.<sup>52</sup>

Finally, despite their differing confessions, it is inconceivable that Bach would remain isolated from the musical activities of the Jesuits in their chapel at the base of the Pleißenburg tower a five-minute walk from St Thomas Church. Is it possible that from late 1736 Bach, who had finally achieved the desired patronage of August III, could be called upon by the Jesuits of the royal Catholic chapel when musical advice was needed?<sup>53</sup> What connections might Bach have established with the Jesuit fathers and musicians who served this royal chapel? These questions remain unanswered.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>46</sup> 'Rationes', 1733: 'In Mausoleum erectum Ser: Regi Augusto per triduum à 15.16.17. April.'

<sup>47</sup> Ibid: 'Militibus arcis pro custodia.'

<sup>48</sup> Ibid: 'Militibus 6. Instrumentistis.'

<sup>49</sup> Ibid: 'In 3. Musicos ex Boemia advocatos Pro victu per 1. hebdomada. cum cervesia et vino.' (26 *Thaler*, 16 *Groschen*, plus 1 *Thaler*, 16 *Groschen*.)

<sup>50</sup> 'Annuae Literae Missionis Lipsiensis ad annum 1733', ARSI, Boh. 150, 35. Reproduced in Stockigt, 'Die "Annuae Literae" der Leipziger Jesuiten 1719-1740', 79.

<sup>51</sup> 'Literae annuae Missionis Lipsiensis ad A[nnum] 1727', ARSI, Boh. 143, 23. Reproduced in Stockigt, 'Die "Annuae Literae" der Leipziger Jesuiten 1719-1740', 78-9.

<sup>52</sup> 'Annuae literae missionis Lipsiensis ad An: 1736', ARSI, Boh. 154, 13. Reproduced in Stockigt, 'Die "Annuae Literae" der Leipziger Jesuiten 1719-1740', 79-80.

<sup>53</sup> By 1738 Bach's honorary ('*Tit[ular]*.' position at the Dresden court would have been known in music circles throughout Saxony. His name was published under the title 'Kirchen-Composit[eur]' of the Dresden court's Hofkapelle in that year's edition of the *Königl. Polnischer und Churfürst. Sächsischer Hof- und Staats-Calender*, D-DI, Hist. Sax. J 179. The name Johann Sebastian Bach last appeared as a 'Kirchen-Composit[eur]' of the 'Königliche Capell- und Cammer-Music' in the edition of 1750.

<sup>54</sup> Following the acceptance of this article for publication in *Understanding Bach* 11, another publication about the music of Leipzig's Catholic chapel became available to me. I thank Dr Christine Blanken from the Bach-Archiv Leipzig for alerting me to the publication by Clemens Harasim, *Die Kirchenmusik an der Propsteikirche zu Leipzig: Von ihren Anfängen bis heute*, ed. Helmut Loos for the Freunde der Propsteimusic Leipzig e.V (Leipzig, 2015). Far from weakening the impact of my research, the work of Clemens Harasim (which takes the musical history of Leipzig's Catholic chapel beyond the time frame of my article) strengthens the results of our independent research.